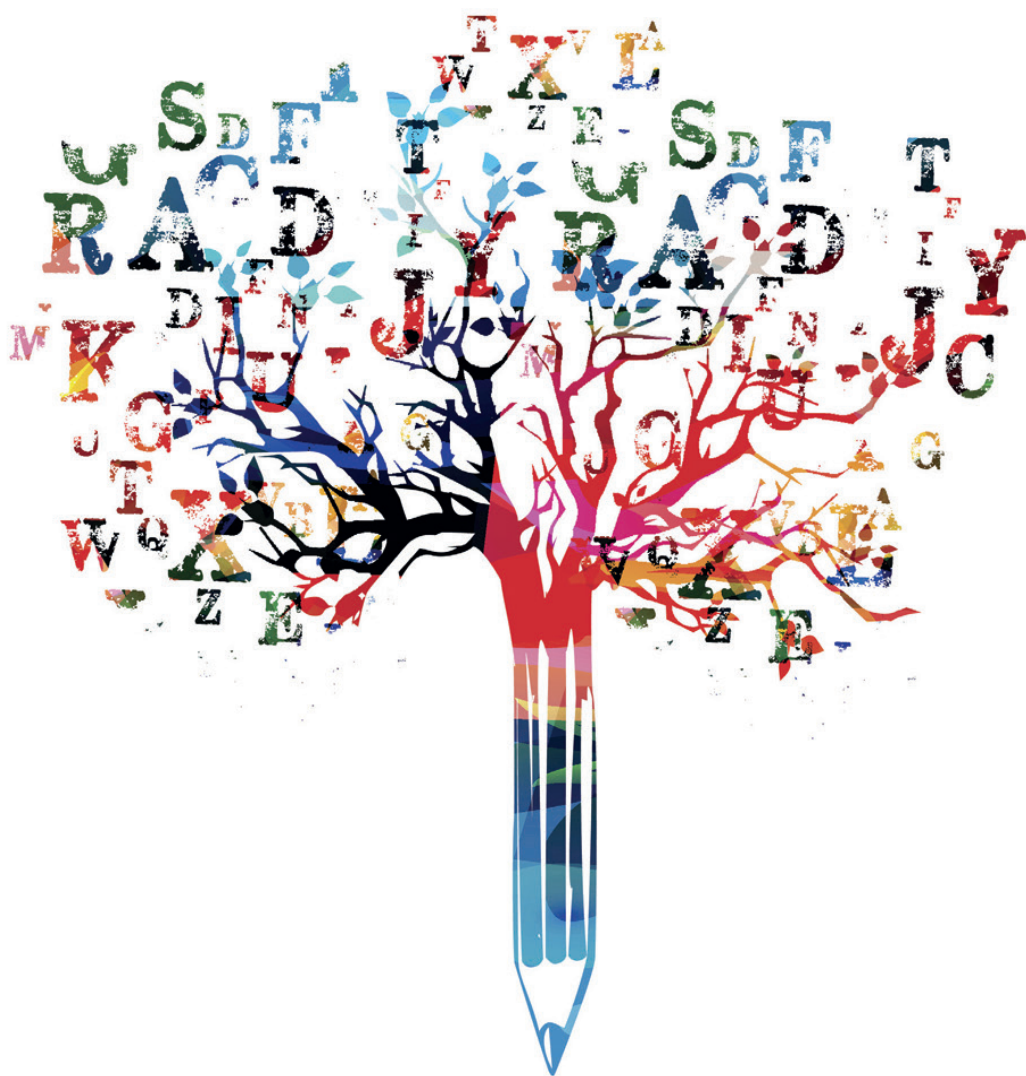


Mysteries of English Grammar

A Guide to Complexities of the English Language

Andreea S. Calude and Laurie Bauer



Mysteries of English Grammar

Despite a history of hundreds of years of research analysing aspects of English grammar, there are still open problems which continue to baffle language researchers today. Such ‘grammar mysteries’ arise for a number of reasons: because the language is changing; because different speakers of the language adhere to distinct norms and thus introduce and maintain variation in the system; because there are differences between the grammar of spoken and written English. This book illuminates some of the complexities of the subject, the areas where new discoveries await and why it matters.

Through a series of accessible and engaging case studies on various aspects of grammar, from multiple negation to possession, the authors present grammar as an intellectual challenge. This book brings out into the open questions about language usage to which we still do not have good answers in a bid to make variation overt and to revel in the mystery of the English language.

Aimed at both the interested general reader and the beginning student of English language and linguistics, this is a fresh take on grammar.

Andreea S. Calude is a Senior Lecturer in Linguistics at the University of Waikato, New Zealand. She has a background in mathematics and linguistics and researches (spoken) grammar, language evolution, loanwords and just about any quantitative language-related question she can get data on. She is the Editor-in-Chief of *Te Reo* – the Journal of the Linguistic Society of New Zealand and the co-editor of *Questions About Language*, with Laurie Bauer (2020).

Laurie Bauer FRSNZ is Emeritus Professor of Linguistics at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. He is the author of over twenty books including *The Oxford Reference Guide to English Morphology* (2013), which won the LSA’s Leonard Bloomfield Prize. In 2017 he was awarded the Royal Society of New Zealand’s Humanities Medal.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Mysteries of English Grammar

A Guide to Complexities of the English
Language

Andreea S. Calude and Laurie Bauer

First published 2022
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2022 Andreea S. Calude and Laurie Bauer

The right of Andreea S. Calude and Laurie Bauer to be identified as authors of this work has been asserted by them in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Calude, Andreea S., author. | Bauer, Laurie, 1949- author.

Title: Mysteries of English grammar: a guide to complexities of the English language / Andreea S. Calude and Laurie Bauer.

Description: Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Taylor and Francis, 2022. |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021016733 | ISBN 9780367710248 (hardback) |

ISBN 9780367710279 (paperback) | ISBN 9781003148999 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: English language--Grammar.

Classification: LCC PE1112 .C256 2022 | DDC 425--dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2021016733>

ISBN: 978-0-367-71024-8 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-367-71027-9 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-14899-9 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003148999

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

To Paul and Winifred for their constant support



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Contents

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>List of tables</i> | ix |
| <i>Preface</i> | x |
| 1 Introduction | 1 |
| 2 What you must say, what you can say and what you do not say: Grammar and norm | 11 |
| 3 <i>Over and out</i> : Prepositions | 21 |
| 4 <i>You'll never get nowhere</i> : Double negatives | 30 |
| 5 <i>All the way from the Ukraine</i> : The definite article | 36 |
| 6 <i>A large amount of exceptions</i> : Countability | 44 |
| 7 <i>The author has finished this chapter last year</i> : The present perfect | 52 |
| 8 <i>An even more interestinger topic</i> : Comparatives and superlatives | 62 |
| 9 <i>I'm lovin' it</i> : The progressive | 71 |
| 10 <i>The good, the bad and the ugly</i> : Adjectives | 81 |
| 11 <i>What it is is a nonstandard feature</i> : Double <i>be</i> construction | 92 |
| 12 Human dogs and inhuman people: Gender and related matters | 102 |
| 13 <i>The chapter that I put too many pronouns in it</i> : Shadow pronouns | 114 |

viii *Contents*

| | | |
|----|--|-----|
| 14 | <i>There's heaps of money to be won</i> : Number agreement | 122 |
| 15 | <i>Because I'm worth it</i> : Insubordinate clauses | 132 |
| 16 | <i>They are cleverer than she and I</i> : Pronominal case | 142 |
| 17 | <i>Is that your wife again?</i> : Possession | 153 |
| 18 | Conclusion | 163 |
| | <i>Glossary: Language for language</i> | 165 |
| | <i>Index</i> | 174 |

Tables

| | | |
|-----|---|----|
| 6.1 | Contrasting usages with count and mass nouns | 45 |
| 7.1 | Present tense verb forms in English, German, Romanian and Russian | 53 |

Preface

Andreea and Laurie

This book is not an English grammar: it makes no attempt to cover everything you might want to know about the way English works as a language. Rather it is a book about aspects of the grammar of English: it picks out some of the interesting parts and stirs up the mud at the bottom of the linguistic pond in its search for gems. It tries to explain why people might not know what is the right thing to say or to write (beyond mere ignorance), and what keeps different versions of a particular grammatical pattern in use. It also tries to point out some of the complexities of grammar that we all deal with on a daily basis. Unlike other books of grammar (though not all!), our book provides details of the language and the patterns observed but also about the people who search for these patterns (linguists). In some chapters, we illustrate problems and issues which researchers are struggling to solve as well as the methods they use to do so, unveiling the process by which we study language and difficulties which our methods present us with. Knowledge about grammar is an emerging and ongoing field of inquiry, and by no means a completed task.

In order to do this, we have to look at the way people really use language – what they actually say and write as opposed to what they might think they say or write (which is different again from what somebody else might think they ought to say and write). Because we both live in New Zealand, we have often used brief excerpts from New Zealand media for illustrative purposes. We cite quality New Zealand newspapers like the *Dominion Post* and the *New Zealand Herald*, we cite the prestigious RNZ National (Radio New Zealand), especially in news and current affairs programmes. This is simply because the material is readily available to us. We do not believe that the language of the New Zealand media is any different in relevant ways from the language of the media in Australia or the United Kingdom (and although there are sometimes marked differences from the language of North America, we point out where this may be relevant to our discussion).

We would like to thank Winifred Bauer, Jessie Burnette, Paul James and David Trye for their readings of drafts, enthusiastic support and general help. We are also greatly indebted to Routledge editors, especially Louisa Semlyen and Eleni Steck for their belief in our ideas, and the referees for their thoughtful comments and suggestions.

1 Introduction

Laurie and Andreea

Setting the scene

English is currently the most described language in the world. We say this not only because of the number of very detailed grammars of English such as Jespersen (1909–1949), Quirk et al. (1985) or Huddleston & Pullum (2002), and not only because we have been writing grammars of English for a very long time, one of the earliest works being Bullokar’s *Pamphlet for Grammar* in 1586 (Linn 2006, p. 74). While both these factors are clearly important, it is the range of constructions which are part of English that have been subject to detailed consideration by generations of grammarians and linguists, either trying to provide a better description of English, or trying to prove some theoretical point about the way grammar works. The descriptions do not always agree (for various reasons, some of which we will consider here), but they are available for consultation, and they provide a very detailed description of more of the grammar of English than has been attempted for any other language. It might thus seem that yet another book about English grammar would be a waste of time. Surely, it has all been done, and the job of English grammarians has now been rendered redundant.

In this book, we argue that this is far from being the case. Researchers who work in the field of English grammar are still making new discoveries, finding new regularities and providing new insights. There are many reasons why we might not know precisely what is going on in grammar, not only in English, but in other languages, too.

Variation in language

First, we should note that English is not a homogeneous language. There are many varieties of English, where ‘variety’ is a technical term that encompasses dialects, styles, genres, even patterns which may be indicative of the individual speaker or writer. The examples given in (1)–(3) are ways of saying the same thing in different varieties.

- (1) a. I’ve not finished it.
- b. I haven’t finished it.

2 Introduction

- (2) a. I don't know whom to trust.
b. I don't know who to trust.
- (3) a. I have a friend lives in Auckland.
b. I have a friend who lives in Auckland.

In the United Kingdom, (1a) is more likely to be heard in the north (Scotland and northern England), (1b) in the south; (2a) is much more formal than (2b), with the result that (2b) is more likely to occur in spoken language and (2a) is often confined to some kinds of written language (Microsoft Word suggests changing (2b)). The sentence in (3a) illustrates a structure which can be heard, but is not generally accepted, and which is found more often in informal styles and in some dialect areas, while (3b) is the standard form (the form of the language which is deemed most prestigious and used in formal contexts). Different varieties may use different grammatical patterns (they may also be different varieties because they sound different – in Lancashire, England, *wood* may rhyme with *cud* – or use different words altogether – *slater* and *woodlouse* are both words to denote the same creature), so that a person from Perth, Australia, may use different grammatical patterns from a person from Perth, Scotland, a lawyer may use different grammatical patterns (speak a different variety) from a carpenter, a man may use different grammatical patterns from a woman, a woman may use different grammatical patterns in addressing her daughter and in addressing her grandmother, and so on.

One particular kind of variety is brought about by language change: things which used to be normal in English are now no longer normal. In the late 1800s, (4a) was the ordinary way of expressing the meaning, and (4b) did not exist, though today speakers would probably find (4a) very odd (see Strang 1970, pp. 98–9).

- (4) a. The house is building.
b. The house is being built.

Language changes all the time, and once the time-depth is great enough, the old seems odd and the new seems normal. But while the change is actually occurring and both forms can be found, change can cause some confusion. Such periods of confusion can sometimes be very long, and then we often find that the speech of younger speakers is systematically different from that of older speakers. This confusion sometimes gives rise to statements of what 'should' be done, which can have the effect of prolonging the life of a moribund construction.

Descriptive and prescriptive grammar

Notions of what should be done in grammar are called 'prescriptive' or 'normative' statements. Prescriptive ideas, ideas about the way language ought to be, have several origins. In some cases, a grammarian will describe what he or she believes is the case in the language of people who are thought to use the 'best' English – often literary writers, biographers and historians – and this gets interpreted as meaning that everyone should copy this usage.

In some instances, the copied usage is a minority one. For example, it is probably the case that for the majority of English speakers around the world (though more often in some areas than in others), *I never did it last week* is a perfectly normal statement, even though, in standard English, *never* is incompatible with *last week*, and *I didn't do it last week* would be the expected form.

In other cases, it may be suggested that English grammar should follow a pattern that is found in some other language (a language with high cultural prestige, often Greek or Latin). For example, the class of prepositions is so-called because in Latin, the corresponding set of words occurred before (pre-) noun phrases. In English, they are also found in that position, but the same forms also have another use in expressions like *come out*, *drop in*, *put up*, and in other places where they do not always occur before a noun phrase. Lowth (1762) knew that what we now call 'preposition stranding' was 'an Idiom which our language is strongly inclined to' [sic] (quoted in Huddleston & Pullum 2020, p. 202), and it was later authors who tried to impose what they perceived as a Latin pattern on English and left us with awkward normative statements such as 'Never end a sentence with a preposition' (to which, of course, the response may be 'What would I want to end a sentence with a preposition for?' or 'What would I want to use a preposition to end a sentence up with for?').

In a third set of cases, grammarians may describe an older pattern and readers may take it as implying (whether that is the author's intention or not) that the newer pattern replacing it should not be used (as is illustrated with *whom* in (2a)).

By contrast, so-called 'descriptive' statements about language claim to do no more than state what grammatical patterns can be observed in usage. They may also try to provide explanations of the observed patterns, and the more modern grammars may indicate where there are differences of opinions on such matters. The three major grammars cited above are all descriptive in this sense, but all descriptive works may end up being used normatively, for example in second-language teaching situations.

What becomes of interest then, is how people know what general usage is, and how to identify appropriate data for description. Many writers make up their examples (as we have done to this point), and assume that their readers will agree with them about what is or is not part of English. In fundamental sentences like (5), that may well be true, but there are plenty of instances where we might disagree, and the disagreement may be minor or major.

(5) The cat sat on the mat.

For example, in the third decade of the twenty-first century there is likely to be disagreement about the sets in (6)–(7); even if individual speakers are consistent in their own usage, there may be disagreement between speakers.

- (6) a. I'm bored with this game.
- b. I'm bored of this game.
- (7) a. Have you any money?
- b. Do you have any money?
- c. Have you got any money?

Sources of evidence

To avoid the bias of citing one's own personal intuition – which, in some cases, may change from day to day – many grammarians prefer to cite examples of usage from users who have, as far as we can tell, not been consciously manipulating their usage when they produced the relevant material (and we do this quite often in this book). It is possible, of course, for people to make mistakes in their usage – or at least, to say things which they would wish to correct if they had more time. Making mistakes is particularly easy to do when speaking as opposed to writing, but it can happen in any language medium. To avoid such errors, we would ideally like to see a particular pattern repeated from several authors, but it is often difficult to find suitable examples. To maximize the chances of getting good data, linguists and grammarians these days frequently use corpora.

A corpus is a large body of data selected in such a way as to provide usage from many people, and entered into a computer database to allow for easy searching. Corpora can be anything from a few thousand words of running text to billions of words of running text, depending on when the texts in the corpus were collected and how they were gathered and treated. Typically, for example, corpora of spoken English are smaller than corpora of written English, because a lot more work is involved in entering and editing data for a corpus of spoken language than for one of written language. Older corpora (from the late twentieth century), which took material from printed media, tend to be smaller than modern corpora which take material from internet sources. We provide examples from a number of corpora in this book, and the corpora used are listed in our set of references, along with the books that we have consulted.

Some corpora are parsed, which means that each word is assigned to a word class, such as noun, verb, adjective and so on. Because most of the parsing is done automatically, using artificial intelligence and statistical techniques, there are to date still problems involved in doing this. Though it is rarely completely accurate, in principle it makes it easy to distinguish between *standard* ('a flag') and *standard* ('normal'), or to see what nouns fit into the noun slot in *a high* [Noun] *for* (for example, we can have *high hopes/regards/praise for*, but not, *high corpus for*). While corpora allow us access to a great deal of good data, the data has been democratized, in the sense that the data in such collections is typically the written usage of everyday writers, with no priority given to writers who are considered models of the best usage, as was typically the case in earlier descriptions, including dictionaries.

What is grammar?

We have not yet considered the meaning of the word *grammar*, a word that has an unfortunately large number of meanings among linguists and grammarians (Crystal 2015, Bauer 2021).

In one usage, grammar is the science of the study of all language phenomena. This might involve phonetics (is the [s] sound in *cuts* in *She cuts the grass every*

week systematically different from the [s] sound in *cuts* in *She has several bad cuts on her hand* ?), phonology (are the rules for stressing nouns different from those for stressing verbs in English?) and pragmatics (can you give an order by making a statement?) – incidentally, the answers to all of these questions is ‘yes’.

A more restrictive use of grammar omits these factors, and keeps the word ‘grammar’ for two things: syntax (the way in which words are ordered and how that relates to the meaning of larger units) and morphology (the way in which meaningful elements go together to make up words, so that we can have *wasp-ish-ness* but not **wasp-ish-ity* or **wasp-ity-ish*). (The asterisk is a device conventionally used by linguists to show that what follows is not good English.)

This latter is the main sense in which we will use the word. *A grammar* (not just *grammar* any more) will also be used, as it has already been used in the second example, to denote a description of a language or a part of a language focusing on these questions.

Grammars, in this sense, focused heavily on regularities in the language. Their interest was to uncover and document regular patterns in the language. A typical example of such a regular pattern might be how verbs are adjusted for different persons (first, second, third). The left-hand side in (8) gives the Latin version of the how the verb meaning ‘love’ is ‘conjugated’ and the right-hand side gives the English version.

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| (8) | a. amo | ‘I love’ |
| | b. amas | ‘you love’ (just one person) |
| | c. amat | ‘he/she/it loves’ |
| | d. amāmus | ‘we love’ |
| | e. amātis | ‘you love’ (more than one person) |
| | f. amant | ‘they love’ |

You can immediately spot that Latin makes a lot of changes along the way, while English does not. Linguists term these ‘paradigms’, for instance the above pattern shows the present tense verb paradigm in Latin and English. We can show other paradigms too, such as, different tenses in English, as in (9).

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (9) | a. infer (basic form, infinitive) |
| | b. infers (third person singular present tense form) |
| | c. inferred (past tense form, past participle form) |
| | d. inferring (present participle form) |

On the basis of this paradigm, we can then predict that the past tense and past participle form corresponding to *travel* will be *travelled* (as long as *travel* belongs to the same paradigm as *infer*; *think* does not).

Paradigms can involve regularities of single words, like (8) or (9), or they can be extended to groups of words (phrases) or larger combinations of words. This kind of approach to grammar is now called a ‘constructional’ approach.

6 Introduction

Constructions are patterns of words which recur with a fixed meaning. Sometimes constructions are very specific (as with the examples in (10)), and sometimes they are very general (as with the examples in (11)). In either case, a certain amount of substitution is permitted within the general meaning assigned to the construction.

- (10) a. [T]hat girl is one twist short of a slinky. (Kleypas, Lisa 2015. *Brown-eyed girl*. New York: St Martin's, p. 89)
b. They are both [...] two paving stones short of a patio. (Cole, Martine 2016. *Betrayal*. London: Headline, p. 262)
- (11) a. My uncle gave my sister a doll.
b. Father Christmas gave me a jigsaw puzzle.
c. The cat in the hat gave us all a big shock.
d. I showed my wife the report.

In (10) we have a construction which, whatever words are used, means 'not very clever'; in (11) we have what is sometimes called 'the double object construction', where certain verbs can take two objects (direct and indirect, the thing given and the person it is given to).

A very different metaphor is the notion of a descriptive rule. A descriptive rule is a rule which tells you what is happening. Depending on the work you happen to be reading, it may be formulated in anything from ordinary prose (e.g. 'The indirect object precedes the direct object' in (11)) to a formula whose elements are theoretically determined (e.g. 'V NP NP', where 'V' is short for 'verb' and 'NP' is short for 'noun phrase', for the same sentences in (11)). More modern formal grammars tend to take the latter approach.

How many answers are there to a question?

A question such as *Which side of the road do they drive on in Japan?* has a single and verifiable answer. People drive on the left in Japan, and you can go to Japan and see for yourself that this is the case. A question like *Why did people vote for Brexit in the referendum?*, on the other hand, has multiple answers. We can easily list a few: they were misled by propaganda; they were not deflected from important issues by the arguments presented in the anti-Brexit propaganda; they wanted to control immigration; they wanted Britain to be great again; they could not imagine ever trying to get a job in Europe; they did not think that it was important that a country should keep its word on alliances; they did not understand the economic advantages of the EU; they thought the EU was overriding their own democracy. You can probably add to this list. The thing about a question of this type is that there is not just one right answer, and that more than one answer can be true at the same time. Also, the answer may be different for different subgroups of people.

Questions about language are more often like the Brexit question than like the side-of-the-road question. There may be multiple answers, people may disagree

about which of them are important, different people may behave as they do due to different sets of answers. If you ask a question such as:

(12) Is it *She went to lay on the bed* or *She went to lie on the bed*?

there is not necessarily a single right answer. Who you are and who you are speaking to, what message you want to convey, where you come from and whether or not you are attempting to speak standard English may all be relevant factors in an answer. On the other hand, a question such as

(13) Is it *a stationery car* or *a stationary car*?

may have a single answer, provided that you make assumptions about expecting standard spellings and standard situations.

Multiple answers, or the inability to give a single, simple answer, should not be a sign that the question is silly or that the person expected to answer does not know what they are talking about. The lack of a unique answer is implicit in some questions, and where the answer depends on identity, personality or a myriad of social factors, the lack of a single answer is not a cop-out. The chapters in this book are not intended to provide definitive answers to the questions they raise. Nor are they intended to provide an exhaustive list of every question raised in connection to the topic of the chapter at hand. Our goal is to take readers on a grammatical journey into the kinds of problems that those who study grammar (and particularly for us, English grammar) ask. We would like to provide readers with a chance to think about language – and possibly to think about language in a new way.

Why are there grammar mysteries?

Finally, we come to the notion of a mystery. There are several reasons why a particular piece of usage might be considered a mystery:

- We don't know what is going on; perhaps we are unable to determine any regular pattern – things are messy; perhaps we can see some regularities, but do not understand what drives the patterns we find; perhaps we just do not yet know what the relevant patterns are. If there are genuinely no patterns, the system is presumably unknowable, so this is a situation we do not expect to find, and do not want to find. In such cases, we must try to find something that makes it in principle possible to learn the grammar. There is a big difference between the unknown and the unknowable.
- We know what is going on, but it does not seem to be predictable. This might be because speakers can manipulate the patterns in subtle ways that we cannot fully discern.
- We know what is going on, but we do not know how the mind determines what will actually be said.

8 Introduction

- We know more or less what is going on, but we do not know how to successfully capture the patterns we see within a neat theoretical framework (a grammatical model).

The last of these questions has exercised the minds of a lot of linguists over the last half-century, and although the discussions are frequently fascinating, they tend to be rather technical. Accordingly, we shall not deal in detail with the last point here, and to the extent that we do, it will just be in general terms. This should not be taken to mean that we do not care about these models. If we are really going to teach computers to use human language, it will involve creating such models that can be interpreted by artificial intelligence. It is just that, for our purposes, choosing a particular model and introducing the technicalities it involves would interfere with our purpose of drawing attention to the puzzles which are at the core of what we are interested in.

Put simply, this book is about some of the bits of English grammar that we do not understand properly. This is odd. At one level, we must surely understand the grammar well enough to use it on a daily basis: we find it easy to say what we want to say, but very difficult to introspect about how we go about putting these utterances together. And there must be regularities ('rules' if you wish) involved. If there were not, we could never make any mistakes (because a mistake implies that we have done something wrong, and if there are no rules or regularities, there is no right or wrong). Yet we all know that we are perfectly capable of making mistakes when we talk and write, and text, even in our native language. If there were no rules, moreover, foreigners would not be able to get things wrong when they talk in our language, but we do recognize typical 'foreigner' errors (*I knowed the answer, He go home early*). We also know that poets and advertising people are capable of extending our language and saying things in ways that have never been said before (*Eat Fresh, Because you're worth it*). What is the difference between extending our usage and making a mistake? Is it a matter of degree, or is there a difference of type?

Who is this book for and how should it be read?

We wrote this book because we find English grammar fascinating and because we are convinced that much of what people like us find interesting will be equally interesting for those who are not familiar with the field of linguistics. Much of language study is hidden behind fancy terms and paywall academic journals but we feel that at least some of this content should be made accessible for a wide audience.

Hence our book is intended for a non-specialist public, for English users and speakers, for advanced learners of English as a second or foreign language, for language enthusiasts and grammar fanatics – for anyone with an interest in and curiosity about language.

The chapters are not connected to each other, although their arrangement was decided upon on the basis of complexity to some extent. Regardless, readers can

pick and choose the order in which they read each chapter. The list of chapters is not exhaustive – there are many more English grammatical bits that we could have discussed, but we chose a list of those constructions that we, as grammarians, find interesting and perhaps straightforward to write about for a non-specialist audience. We have deliberately tried to make the language jargon-free wherever possible, and only introduced terms if we deemed it absolutely necessary. Each term is explained in the relevant chapter, but for convenience, we also include a chapter at the end of the book with some short definitions and examples for easy reference (see Glossary).

Wrapping up

The questions and mysteries we raise in the chapters of the book are in many ways neither completely new (some have been the focus of many research articles), nor entirely problematic (despite the gaps in current understanding of English grammar, we can still all get by using the language to communicate with one another). As language researchers, we find these questions not just captivating but also of practical importance. In the end, if we do not know how English grammar works in detail, how are we supposed to teach foreigners our language, and how can we edit texts so that they use a standard form of the language? Some people may not care: as long as we can understand one another, all is well. Others care very deeply. But whether you care or not, there is a fascinating intellectual puzzle here: what is going on, and how must the mind work to deal with the complexities of our language? If, as some have argued (Simpson 1994, p. 1894; Chomsky 1972, p. 100; Fry 2019), language makes us human, trying to see how language works is probing the very essence of our humanity.

References

- Bauer, Laurie 2021. *The linguistics student's handbook*. 2nd edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bullokar, William 1586. *Pamphlet for grammar*. London: Denham.
- Chomsky, Noam 1972. *Language and mind*. Enlarged edition. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. (For the 3rd edition: DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511791222)
- Crystal, David 2015. *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. 6th edition. Malden, MA: Blackwell. doi:10.1002/9781444302776
- Fry, Stephen 2019. Interview on the BBC, 3 July.
- Huddleston, Rodney & Geoffrey K. Pullum (eds) 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781316423530
- Huddleston, Rodney & Geoffrey K. Pullum 2020. Modern and traditional descriptive approaches. In Bas Aarts, Jill Bowie & Gergana Popova (eds), *The Oxford handbook of English grammar*, 201–221. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198755104.013.15
- Jespersen, Otto 1909–1949. *A modern English grammar on historical principles*. Seven vols. London: Allen and Unwin. doi:10.4324/9780203715987

10 Introduction

- Linn, Andrew 2006. English grammar writing. In Bas Aarts & April McMahon (eds), *The handbook of English linguistics*, 72–92. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech & Jan Svartvik 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.
- Simpson, J.M.Y. 1994. Language. In R.E. Asher (ed.), *The encyclopedia of language and linguistics*. Vol 4. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Strang, Barbara M.H. 1970. *A history of English*. London: Methuen.

Introduction

- Bauer, Laurie. 2021. *The linguistics student's handbook*. 2nd edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bullock, William. 1586. *Pamphlet for grammar*. London: Denham.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1972. *Language and mind*. Enlarged edition. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. (For the 3rd edition: DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511791222)
- Crystal, David. 2015. *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. 6th edition. Malden, MA: Blackwell. doi:10.1002/9781444302776
- Fry, Stephen. 2019. Interview on the BBC, 3 July.
- Huddleston, Rodney. & Geoffrey K. Pullum (eds) 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781316423530
- Huddleston, Rodney. & Geoffrey K. Pullum 2020. Modern and traditional descriptive approaches. In Bas. Aarts, Jill. Bowie & Gergana. Popova (eds), *The Oxford handbook of English grammar*, 201–221. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198755104.013.15
- Jespersen, Otto. 1909–1949. *A modern English grammar on historical principles*. Seven vols. London: Allen and Unwin. doi:10.4324/9780203715987
- Linn, Andrew. 2006. English grammar writing. In Bas. Aarts & April. McMahon (eds), *The handbook of English linguistics*, 72–92. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Quirk, Randolph. , Sidney. Greenbaum , Geoffrey. Leech & Jan. Svartvik 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.
- Simpson, J.M.Y. 1994. *Language*. In R.E. Asher (ed.), *The encyclopedia of language and linguistics*. Vol 4. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Strang, Barbara M.H. 1970. *A history of English*. London: Methuen.

What you must say, what you can say and what you do not say

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2003. *A grammar of Tariana*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781107050952
- Bauer, Laurie. 2021. *The linguistics student's handbook*. 2nd edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1957. *Syntactic structures*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Coseriu, Eugenio. 1952. *Sistema, Norma y Habla*. Montevideo: Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias, Instituto de Filología, Departamento de Lingüística.
- Crystal, David. 2015. *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. 6th edition. Malden, MA: Blackwell. doi:10.1002/9781444302776
- Jakobson, Roman. 1959. On linguistic aspects of translation. In Reuben A. Brower (ed.), *On translation*, 232–239. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- McCawley, James D. 1971. Where do noun phrases come from? In Danny D. Steinberg & Leon A. Jacobovits (eds), *Semantics*, 217–231. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pawley, Andrew. & Frances Hodgetts. Syder 1983. Two puzzles for linguistic theory: Nativelike selection and nativelike fluency. In Jack C. Richards & Richard W. Schmidt (eds), *Language and communication*, 191–225. London: Routledge.
- Wray, Alison. 2012. What do we (think we) know about formulaic language? An evaluation of the current state of play. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 32(1): 231–254.

Over and out

- Bauer, Laurie. 2000. Word. In Geert. Booij , Christian. Lehmann & Joachim. Mugdan (eds), *Morphologie/Morphology: An international handbook on inflection and word-formation (Volume 1)*, 247–256. Amsterdam: De Gruyter.

Dixon, Robert. 1982. The grammar of English phrasal verbs. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 2(1): 1–42. doi:10.1080/07268608208599280

Dixon, Robert. & Alexandra. Aikhenvald 2003. Word: A typological framework. In Robert. Dixon & Alexandra. Aikhenvald (eds.) *Word: A crosslinguistic typology*, 1–41. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Google Scholar. Available online at <https://scholar.google.com/>

Hart, Carl. 2017. *Ultimate phrasal verb book*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2011. The indeterminacy of word segmentation and the nature of morphology and syntax. *Folia Linguistica* 45(1): 31–80. doi:10.1515/flin.2011.002

Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, fire, and other dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Lindstromberg, Seth. 2010. *English prepositions explained*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Matthews, Peter H. 2005. *The concise Oxford dictionary of linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pawley, Andrew. & Frances Hodgetts. Syder 1983. Two puzzles for linguistic theory: Nativelike selection and nativelike fluency. In Jack C. Richards & R.W. Schmidt (eds), *Language and communication*, 191–226. London: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781315836027

Taylor, John. 1995. *Linguistic categorization: Prototypes in linguistic theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tyler, Andrea. & Vyvyan. Evans 2003. *The semantics of English prepositions: Spatial scenes, embodied meaning and cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

You'll never get nowhere

Barber, Katherine. (ed.) 1998. *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Cheshire, Jenny. 1998. Double negatives are illogical. In Laurie. Bauer & Peter. Trudgill (eds), *Language myths*, 113–122. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Crystal, David. 1984. *Who cares about English usage?* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Curme, George O. 1931. *A grammar of the English language*. Vol III: Syntax. Boston: Heath.

Davies, Mark. 2004. *British National Corpus* (from Oxford University Press). Available online at <https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/>.

Fogarty, Mignon. 2020. www.quickanddirtytips.com/grammar/could-care-less-versus-couldnt-care-less. Posted 16 Jan, accessed 4 May 2020.

Fowler, H.W. 1968 [1926]. *A dictionary of modern English usage*. 2nd edition revised by Sir Ernest Gowers, corrected. London: Oxford University Press. For a more recent edition: doi:10.1093/acref/9780199661350.001.0001

Jespersen, Otto. 1917. Negation in English and other languages. *Det Kongelige Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologisk Meddelelser I*, 5. Copenhagen: Høst.

Merriam-Webster n.d. Is it 'could' or 'couldn't care less'? www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/could-couldnt-care-less, accessed 4 May 2020.

Partridge, Eric. 1963 [1947]. *Usage and abuse*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Quirk, Randolph. , Sidney. Greenbaum , Geoffrey. Leech & Jan. Svartvik 1972. *A grammar of contemporary English*. London: Longman.

All the way from the Ukraine

Acton, Erik K. 2019. Pragmatics and the social life of the English definite article. *Language* 95(1): 37–65. doi:10.1353/lan.2019.0010

Bauer, Laurie. 2016. Why is there nothing to do in the Manawatu? *New Zealand English Journal* 29/30: 1–10.

Berezowski, Leszek. 1997. Iconic motivation for the definite article in English geographical proper names. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 32: 127–144.

Biber, Douglas. , Stig. Johansson , Geoffrey. Leech , Susan. Conrad & Edward. Finegan 1999. *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. Harlow: Longman.

Bickerton, Derek. 1981. *Roots of language*. Ann Arbor: Karoma. doi:10.26530/OAPEN_603354

Filppula, Markku. & Juhani. Klemola 2017. The definite article in World Englishes. In Markku. Filppula , Juhani. Klemola , Anna. Mauranen & Svetlana. Vetchinnikova (eds), *Changing English: Global and local perspectives* (Vol. 92), 155–168. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Gardner, Matt. & Sali. Tagliamonte 2020. The bike, the back, and the boyfriend: Confronting the “definite article conspiracy” in Canadian and British English. *English World-Wide* 41(2): 225–254. doi:10.1075/eww.00047.gar

Grannis, Oliver. 1972. The definite article conspiracy in English. *Language Learning* 22: 275–289. doi:10.1111/j.14671770.1972.tb00088.x

Langendonck, Willy van. & Mark. van de Velde 2009. The function of (in)definiteness markers with proper names. In *Proceedings of the 23rd international congress of onomastic sciences*. Canada: York University.

Quirk, Randolph. , Sidney. Greenbaum , Geoffrey. Leech & Jan. Svartvik 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.

Sand, Andrea. 2003. The definite article in Irish English and other contact varieties of English. In Tristram. Hildegard (ed.) *The Celtic Englishes III*, 413–430. Heidelberg: Winter.

Siemund, Peter. 2013. *Varieties of English: A typological approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

A large amount of exceptions

Aitchison, Jean. 1981. *Language change: Progress or decay?* London: Fontana. [Later editions are published by Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511809866]

Davies, Mark. 2004. *British National Corpus* (from Oxford University Press). Available online at <https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/>.

Derwing, Bruce. 1973. *Transformational grammar as a theory of language acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fowler, H.W. 1968 [1926]. *A dictionary of modern English usage*. 2nd edition, revised by Sir Ernest Gowers. London: Oxford University Press. For a more recent edition: doi:10.1093/acref/9780199661350.001.0001

Lucy, John. 1992. *Grammatical categories and cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511620713

Murphy, M. Lynne. 2010. *Lexical meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511780684

Partridge, Eric. 1969 [1947]. *Usage and abuse*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Strang, Barbara M.H. 1970. *A history of English*. London: Methuen.

Wierzbicka, Anna. 1988. *The semantics of grammar*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/slcs.18

The author has finished this chapter last year

Biber, Douglas. , Stig. Johansson , Geoffrey. Leech , Susan. Conrad & Edward. Finegan 1999. *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. Harlow: Longman.

Bybee, Joan. , Revere. Perkins & William. Pagliuca 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect and modality in languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cox, Rebecca. 2005. *Preterite uses of the present perfect in New Zealand English narratives: A case study*. MA Dissertation, University of Canterbury.

Elsness, Joan. 2009. The present perfect and the preterite. In Günter. Rohdenburg & Julia. Schlüter (eds), *One language, two grammars? Differences between British and American*

- English, 228–245. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Everett, Daniel. 2005. Cultural constraints on grammar and cognition in Pirahã: Another look at the design features of human language. *Current Anthropology* 46(4): 621–646. doi:10.1086/431525
- Fournier, Jean-Marie. 2004. Crise de langue et conscience linguistique: la question de la règle des 24 heures. *Dix-septième siècle* 223: 251–264. doi:10.3917/dss.042.0251
- Haiman, John. 1980. The iconicity of grammar: Isomorphism and motivation. *Language* 59(4): 515–540. doi:10.2307/414448
- Howe, Chad. 2013. *The Spanish perfects: Pathways of emergent meaning*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. doi:10.1057/9781137029812
- Hübler, Axel. 1998. The expressivity of grammar: Grammatical devices expressing emotion across time. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110800173
- Hundt, Marianne. & Nicholas. Smith 2009. The present perfect in British and American English: Has there been any change, recently? *ICAME Journal* 33: 45–63.
- Klein, Wolfgang. 1992. The present perfect puzzle. *Language* 68(3): 525–552. doi:10.2307/415793
- Lowrey, Brian. 2009. La directionnalité et la nature non-téléologique de l'évolution linguistique. *Anglophonia* 26: 231–246. doi:10.4000/anglophonia.907
- McCawley, James D. 1971. Tense and time reference. In Charles. Fillmore and Terence. Langendoen (eds), *Studies in linguistic semantics*, 96–113. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Michaelis, Laura. 1998. The ambiguity of the English present perfect. *Journal of English Linguistics* 30(1): 111–157. doi:10.1017/S0022226700016200
- Palmer, Frank. 2014. *The English verb*. 3rd edition. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Pullum, Geoffrey. & Rodney. Huddleston 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Quirk, Randolph. , Sidney. Greenbaum , Geoffrey. Leech & Jan. Svartvik 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.
- Ritz, Marie-Eve. 2010. The perfect crime? Illicit uses of the present perfect in Australian police media releases. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42: 3400–3417. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2010.05.003
- Ritz, Marie-Eve. 2012. Perfect tense and aspect. In Robert I. Binnick (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of tense and aspect*, 881–907. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195381979.001.0001
- Ritz, Marie-Eve. 2018. “Hot news” and perfect change: Mirativity and the semantics/pragmatics interface. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 17: 135–155. doi:10.5565/rev/catjl.245
- Ritz, Marie-Eve. & Dulcie M. Engel 2008. “Vivid narrative use” and the meaning of the present perfect in spoken Australian English. *Linguistics* 46(1): 131–160. doi:10.1515/LING.2008.005
- Schwenter, Scott. 1994. ‘Hot news’ and the grammaticalization of perfects. *Linguistics* 32(6): 995–1028. doi:10.1515/ling.1994.32.6.995
- Schwenter, Scott. & Rena. Torres Cacoullous 2008. Defaults and indeterminacy in temporal grammaticalization: The ‘perfect’ road to perfective. *Language Variation and Change* 20(1): 1–39. doi:10.1017/S0954394508000057
- Walker, Jim. 2011. The emergence of the narrative present perfect in British English: Reality or illusion? *GAGL: Groninger Arbeiten zur germanistischen Linguistik* 53(2): 71–87.
- Werner, Valentin. , Elena. Seoane & Cristina. Suárez-Gómez 2016. Introduction: The present perfect – A re-assessment. In Valentin. Werner , Elena. Seoane & Cristina. Suárez-Gómez (eds), *Re-assessing the present perfect: Corpus studies and beyond*, 1–20. Amsterdam: De Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110443530
- Yao, Xinyue. 2016. The evolution of the “hot news” perfect in English. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 17(1): 129–151. doi:10.1075/jhp.17.1.06yao

An even more interestinger topic

- Bauer, Laurie. 1994. *Watching English change*. London and New York: Longman.
doi:10.4324/9781315844169
- Bauer, Laurie. , Rochelle. Lieber & Ingo. Plag 2013. *The Oxford reference guide to English morphology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198747062.0001.0001
- Chua, Deborah. 2019. Comparative alternation in y-adjectives: Insights from self-paced reading. *Language and Cognition* 11(3): 373–402. doi:10.1017/langcog.2019.22
- D'Arcy, Alexandra. 2014. Functional partitioning and functional limits of variability: A view of adjective comparison from the vernacular. *Journal of English Linguistics* 42: 218–244.
doi:10.1177/0075424214539702
- Davies, Mark. 2004. *British National Corpus* (from Oxford University Press). Available online at <https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/>.
- Dickens, Charles. 1843. *A Christmas carol*. London: Chapman and Hall.
- Fowler, H.W. 1968. *A dictionary of modern English usage*. 2nd edition revised by Sir Ernest Gowers, corrected. London: Oxford University Press.
- Hilpert, Martin. 2008. The English comparative – language structure and language use. *English Language and Linguistics* 12(3): 395–417. doi:10.1017/S1360674308002694
- Mondorf, Britta. 2009. *More support for more-support: The role of processing constraints on the choice between synthetic and analytic comparative forms*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
doi:10.1075/silv.4
- Perkins, Al. 1967. *The digging-est dog*. London: HarperCollins.
- Thornton, Anna M. 2012. Reduction and maintenance of overabundance. A case study on Italian verb paradigms. *Word Structure* 5: 183–207. doi:10.3366/word.2012.0026

I'm lovin' it

- Aarts, Bas. , Joane. Close & Sean. Wallis 2010. Recent changes in the use of the progressive construction in English. In Bert. Capelle & Naoaki. Wada (eds), *Distinctions in English grammar*, 148–167. Tokyo: Kaitakusha.
- Biber , Douglas. , Stig. Johansson , Geoffrey. Leech , Susan. Conrad & Edward. Finegan 1999. *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. Harlow: Longman.
- Bylund, Emanuel. , Panos. Athanasopoulos & Marcelyn. Oostendorp 2013. Motion event cognition and grammatical aspect: Evidence from Afrikaans. *Linguistics* 51(5): 929–955.
doi:10.1515/ling-2013-0033
- Collins, Peter. 2008. The progressive aspect in World Englishes: A corpus-based study. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 28(2): 225–249. doi:10.1080/07268600802308782
- Denison, David. 1999. Syntax. In Suzanne. Romaine (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language*, 92–329. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
doi:10.1017/CHOL9780521264778
- Folley, Mark. & Diane. Hall 2012. *My grammar lab (Intermediate B1/B2)*. Edinburgh: Pearson.
- Forman, M.B. 1952. *The letters of John Keats*. 4th edition, London: Oxford University Press.
- Freund, Nina. 2016. Recent changes in the use of stative verbs in the progressive form in British English: I'm loving it. *University of Reading Language Studies Working Papers* 7: 50–51.
- Granath, Solveig. & Michael. Wheritt 2014. 'I'm loving you – And knowing it too': Aspect and so-called stative verbs. *Rhesis: International Journal of Linguistics, Philology and Literature* 4(1): 2–22.
- Hafford, James. 2014. *Wuvulu grammar and vocabulary*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, Hawai'i.
- Hewings, Martin. 2013. *Cambridge advanced grammar in use*. 3rd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huddleston, Rodney. & Geoffrey K. Pullum (eds) 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781316423530
- Kelly-Holmes, Helen. 2010. Languages and global marketing. In Nicholas. Coupland (ed.), *The handbook of language and globalization*, 475–492. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Kranich, Svenja. 2010. The progressive in Modern English: A corpus-based study of grammaticalization and related changes. Amsterdam: Brill Rodopi.

Kranich, Svenja. 2013. Functional layering and the English progressive. *Linguistics* 51(1): 1–32. doi:10.1515/ling-2013-0001

Leech, Geoffrey. , Marianne Hundt Christian. Mair & Nichaolar. Smith 2009. Change in contemporary English: A grammatical study. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511642210

Mair, Christian. 2012. Progressive and continuous aspect. In Robert I. Binnick (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of tense and aspect*, 803–827. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195381979.001.0001

Mazzon, Gabriella. 2013. ALWAYS-progressives in early American English. *Rhesis: International Journal of Linguistics, Philology and Literature* 4(1): 23–39.

Mufwene, Salikoko. 1984. *Stativity and the progressive*. Bloomington: Indiana Linguistics Club.

Petré, Peter. 2017. The extravagant progressive: An experimental corpus study on the history of the emphatic [be Ving]. *English Language and Linguistics* 21(2): 227–250. doi:10.1017/S1360674317000107

Quirk, Randolph. , Sidney. Greenbaum , Geoffrey. Leech & Jan. Svartvik 1985. A comprehensive grammar of the English language. London: Longman.

Smith, Nicholas. 2005. A corpus-based investigation of recent change in the use of the progressive in British English. Doctoral dissertation. Lancaster: Lancaster University.

Swan, Michael. 1984. *Basic English usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vendler, Zeno. 1957. Verbs and times. *The Philosophical Review* 66(2): 143–160.

Waliński, Jacek Tadeusz. 2018. The cross-cultural conceptualization of 'I'm loving it' between English and Polish. *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny LXV*: 517–530. doi:10.24425/kn.2018.125001

Willis, Dave. 1992. *Collins COBUILD students' grammar*. London: Harper Collins.

The good, the bad and the ugly

Anderwald, Liselotte. 2008. The varieties of English spoken in the Southeast of England: Morphology and syntax. In Berndt. Kortmann & Clive. Upton (eds), *Varieties of English: The British Isles*, 440–462. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110208399.2.440

Bauer, Laurie. 1998. When is a sequence of two nouns a compound in English? *English Language and Linguistics* 2(1): 65–86. doi:10.1017/S1360674300000691

Bauer, Laurie. 2017. *Compounds and compounding*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781108235679

Bauer, Laurie. , Rochelle. Lieber & Ingo. Plag 2013. *The Oxford reference guide to English morphology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198747062.001.0001

Beal, Joan. 2008. English dialects in the North of England: Morphology and syntax. In Berndt. Kortmann & Clive. Upton (eds), *Varieties of English: The British Isles*, 373–403. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110208399.2.373

Davies, Mark. 2004. *British National Corpus* (from Oxford University Press). Available online at <https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/>.

Giegerich, Heinz. 2012. The morphology of -ly and the categorial status of 'adverbs' in English. *English Language and Linguistics* 16(3): 341–359. doi:10.1017/S1360674312000147

Giegerich, Heinz. 2015. *Lexical structures: Compounds and the modules of grammar*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. doi:10.1017/S1360674315000453.

Gove, Philip. (ed.) 1966. *Webster's third new international dictionary*. Springfield, MA: Merriam.

Payne, John. & Rodney. Huddleston 2002. Nouns and noun phrases. In Rodney. Huddleston & Geoffrey K. Pullum (eds), *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*, 323–524. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139166003.007

Payne , John. , Rodney. Huddleston & Geoffrey K. Pullum 2010. The distribution and category status of adjectives and adverbs. *Word Structure* 3(1): 31–81. doi:10.3366/E1750124510000486

Tagliamonte, Sali. & Rika. Ito 2002. Think really different: Continuity and specialization in the English dual form adverbs. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6(2): 236–266. doi:10.1111/ 1467-9481.00186.

What it is is a nonstandard feature

Andersen, Gisle. 2002. The best part is, is that you get to shoot your opponent: Corpora and the double copula. In Leiv Egil. Breivik & Angela. Hasselgren (eds), *From the COLT's mouth...and others': Language corpora studies: In honour of Anna-Brita Stenstrom*, 43–58. Amsterdam: Brill Rodopi.

Bolinger, Dwight. 1987. The remarkable double IS. *English Today* 3(1): 39–40.
doi:10.1017/S0266078400002728

Cochrane, James. 2004. *Between you and I: A little book of bad English*. Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks.

Coppock, Elizabeth. , Jason. Brenier , Laura. Staum & Laura. Michaelis 2006. ISIS: It's not disfluent, but how do we know that? In Zhenya. Antić , Charles B. Chang , Emily. Cibelli , Jisup. Hong , Michael J. Houser , Clare S. Sandy , Maziar. Toosarvandani & Yao. Yao (eds), *Proceedings of the 32nd annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, Berkeley, CA.

Curzan, Anne. 2012. Revisiting the reduplicative copula with corpus-based evidence. In Terttu. Nevalainen & Elizabeth Closs. Traugott (eds), *The Oxford handbook of the history of English*, 211–221. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199922765.013.0020.

Herd, Jonathan. , Catherine. Macdonald & Diane. Massam 2011. Genitive subjects in relative constructions in Polynesian languages. *Lingua* 121(7): 1252–1264.

Language Log . Accessible from: <https://languagelog.ldc.upenn.edu>.

Massam, Diane. 1999. Thing is constructions: The thing is, is what's the right analysis? *English Language and Linguistics* 3(2): 335–352. doi:10.1017/S136067439900026X

Massam, Diane. 2013. Intrusive be constructions in (spoken) English: Apposition and beyond. In *Proceedings of the 2012 annual conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association*. Online from <http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~cla-acl/actes2013/Massam-2013.pdf>.

Massam, Diane. 2017. Extra BE: The syntax of share shell-noun constructions in English. *Language* 93(1): 121–152.

McConvell, Patrick. 1988. To be or double be? Current changes in the English copula. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 8(2): 287–305.

Miller, Jim. 1996. Clefts, particles and word order in languages of Europe. *Language Sciences* 18(1–2): 111–125.

Orbell, Margaret. 1992. *Traditional Māori stories*. Auckland: Reed Books.

Pullum, Geoffrey K. & Rodney. Huddleston 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Quirk, Randolph. , Sidney. Greenbaum , Geoffrey. Leech & Jan. Svartvik 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.

Schmid, Hans-Jörg. 2000. English abstract nouns as conceptual shells: From corpus to cognition. Amsterdam: Walter de Gruyter.

Shapiro, Michael. & Michael. Haley 2002. The reduplicative copula is is. *American Speech* 77(3): 304–312.

Tuggy, David. 1996. The thing is is that people talk that way. The question is Why? In Eugene H. Casad (ed), *Cognitive linguistics in the redwoods: the expansion of a new paradigm in linguistics*, 713–752. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Human dogs and inhuman people

- Baron, Dennis. 1986. *Grammar and gender*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Bauer, Laurie. 1994. *Watching English change*. London: Longman.
doi:10.4324/9781315844169
- Baugh, Albert C. 1959. *A history of the English language*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bodine, Ann. 1975. Androcentrism in prescriptive grammar: Singular 'they', sex-indefinite 'he', and 'he or she'. *Language in Society* 4: 129–146. doi:10.1017/S0047404500004607
- Davies, Mark. 2004. *British National Corpus* (from Oxford University Press). Available online at <https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/>.
- Eckert, Penelope. & Sally. McConnel-Ginet 2003. *Language and gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139245883
- Holmes, Janet. 2013. *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. 4th edition. Harlow: Pearson.
- Huddleston, Rodney. , Geoffrey K. Pullum & Peter. Peterson 2002. Relative constructions and unbounded dependencies. In Rodney. Huddleston & Geoffrey K. Pullum (eds), *The Cambridge grammar of the English language, 1031–1096*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
doi:10.1017/9781316423530.013
- Jespersen, Otto. 1949. *A modern English grammar on historical principles*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Key, Mary Ritchie. 1975. *Male/female language*. Metuchen: Scarecrow.
- Pawley, Andrew. 2008. Australian vernacular English: Some grammatical characteristics. In Kate. Burridge & Bernd. Kortmannn (eds), *Varieties of English 3: The Pacific and Australasia*, 362–397. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110208412.2.362
- Quirk, Randolph. , Sidney. Greenbaum , Geoffrey. Leech & Jan. Svartvik 1972. *A grammar of contemporary English*. London: Longman.
- West, Candace. & Don H. Zimmerman 1987. Doing gender. *Gender & Society* 1(2): 125–151.
doi:10.1177/0891243287001002002

The chapter that I put too many pronouns in it

- Alexopoulou, Theodora. & Frank. Keller 2007. Locality, cyclicity, and resumption: At the interface between the grammar and the human sentence processor. *Language* 83: 110–160.
- Beltrama, Andrea. & Ming. Xiang 2016. Unacceptable but comprehensible: The facilitation effect of resumptive pronouns. *Glossa* 1(1): 1–24. doi:10.5334/GJGL.24
- Biber, Douglas. , Stig. Johansson , Geoffrey. Leech , Susan. Conrad & Edward. Finegan 1999. *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. Harlow: Longman.
- Brown, Keith. & Jim. Miller 2016. *A critical account of English syntax: Grammar, meaning and text*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Burke, Isabelle. 2017. Wicked which: The linking relative in Australian English. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 37(3): 356–386. doi:10.1080/07268602.2017.1298398
- Erteschik-Shir, Nomi. 1992. Resumptive pronouns in islands. In Helen. Goodluck & Michael. Rochemont (eds), *Island constraints*, 89–108. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Ferreira, Fernanda. & Benjamin. Swets 2005. The production and comprehension of resumptive pronouns in relative clause "island" contexts. In Anne. Cutler (ed.), *Twenty-first century psycholinguistics: Four cornerstones*, 263–278. Malway: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Huddleston, Rodney. & Geoffrey K. Pullum (eds) 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781316423530
- Keffala, Bethany. 2011. Resumption and gaps in English relative clauses: Relative acceptability creates an illusion of 'saving'. *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 37: 140–154. *Language Log* . Accessible from: <https://linguagelog.ldc.upenn.edu>.
- Loss, Sara. & Mark. Wicklund 2020. Is English resumption different in appositive relative clauses? *Canadian Journal of Linguistics/Revue Canadienne de linguistique* 65(1): 25–51.
doi:10.1017/cnj.2019.19
- Meltzer-Asscher, Aya. 2020 Resumptive pronouns in language comprehension and production. *Annual Review of Linguistics* 7: 177–194. doi:10.1146/annurev-linguistics-031320-012726

Miller, James. & Regina. Weinert 1998. *Spontaneous spoken language: Syntax and discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Polinsky, Maria. , Lauren. Clemens , Adam Milton. Morgan , Ming. Xiang & Dustin. Heestand 2011. Resumption in English. In Jon. Sprouse & Norbert. Hornstein (eds), *Experimental syntax and island effects*, 341–362. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ross, John. 1967. *Constraints on variables in syntax*. PhD Dissertation. Boston: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Sells, Peter. 1984. *Syntax and semantics of resumptive pronouns*. PhD Dissertation. Amherst: University of Massachusetts.

There's heaps of money to be won

Bauer, Laurie. 1994. *Watching English change*. London: Longman.
doi:10.4324/9781315844169

Curme, George O. 1931. *A grammar of the English language*. Vol II: Syntax. Boston: Heath.

Davies, Mark. 2004. *British National Corpus* (from Oxford University Press). Available online at <https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/>.

Hay, Jen. & Danny. Schreier 2004. Reversing the trajectory of language change: Subject-verb agreement with be in New Zealand English. *Language Variation and Change* 16(3): 209–235.

Huddleston, Rodney. 2002. The clause: Complements. In Rodney. Huddleston & Geoffrey K. Pullum (eds), *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*, 213–321. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781316423530.005

Jespersen, Otto. 1914. *A modern English grammar on historical principles*. Vol II. London: Allen & Unwin. doi:10.4324/9780203715932.

Kortmann, Berndt. 2008. Synopsis of morphological and syntactic variation in the British Isles. In Berndt. Kortmann & Clive. Upton (eds), *Varieties of English 1: The British Isles*, 478–495. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110208399.2.478

Payne, John. & Rodney. Huddleston 2002. Nouns and noun phrases. In Rodney. Huddleston & Geoffrey K. Pullum (eds), *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*, 323–523. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781316423530.006

Because I'm worth it

Bergs, Alexander. 2018. Because science! Notes on a variable construction. In Elena. Seoane , Carlos. Acuña-Fariña & Ignacio. Palacios-Martínez (eds), *Subordination in English: Synchronic and diachronic perspectives*, 43–60. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. doi:10.1515/9783110583571-201

Brown, Keith. & Jim. Miller 2016. *A critical account of English syntax*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Burke, Isabelle. 2017. Wicked which: The linking relative in Australian English. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 37(3): 356–386. doi:10.1080/07268602.2017.1298398

Calude, Andreea. 2008. Demonstrative clefts and double cleft constructions in spontaneous spoken English. *Studia Linguistica* 61(1): 78–228. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9582.2007.00140.x

Cheshire, Jenny. 2004. Syntactic variation and spoken language. In Leonie Cornips. & Karen P. Corrigan (eds), *Syntax and variation: Reconciling the biological and the social*, 81–106. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cheshire, Jenny. 2005. Syntactic variation and spoken language. In Leonie. Cornips & Karen. Corrigan (eds), *Syntax and variation: Reconciling the biological and the social*, 81–108. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Cristofaro, Sonia. 2005. *Subordination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199282005.001.000

Evans, Nicholas. 2007. Insubordination and its uses. In Irina. Nikolaeva (ed.), *Finiteness: Theoretical and empirical foundations*, 366–431. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Evans, Nicholas. & Honoré. Watanabe 2016. *Insubordination*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Everett, Daniel. 2005. Cultural constraints on grammar and cognition in Pirahã: Another look at the design features of human language. *Current Anthropology* 46(4): 621–646. doi:10.1086/431525
- Gladwell, Malcolm. 1999. True colors: hair dye and the history of postwar America. *New Yorker* [accessed from <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1999/03/22/true-colors>].
- Green, Georgia. 1976. Main clause phenomena in subordinate clauses. *Language* 52(2): 382–397.
- Grice, H. Paul. 1989. *Studies in the way of words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Guz, Wojciech. 2015. The structural non-integration of wh-clefts. *English Language and Linguistics* 19(3): 477–503. doi:10.1017/S1360674315000180
- Holmes, Janet. , Gary. Johnson & Bernadette. Vine 1998. *Guide to the Wellington corpus of spoken New Zealand English*. Wellington: School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Huddleston, Rodney. 1994. Sentence types and clause subordination. In R.E. Asher & J.M.Y. Simpson (eds), *The encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, Volume 7, 3845–3857. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Koops, Christian. & Sebastian. Ross-Hagebaum 2008. Information structure and discourse function of amalgam wh-clefts. *Proceedings of the 37th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 37: 461–472.
- Lindström, Jan. , Camilla. Lindholm & Ritva. Laury 2016. The interactional emergence of conditional clauses as directives: Constructions, trajectories and sequences of actions. *Language Sciences* 58: 8–21. doi:10.1016/j.langsci.2016.02.008
- Miller, Jim. & Andreea. Calude 2020. Spoken and written language. In Bas. Aarts & April. McMahon (eds), *Handbook of English linguistics*, 549–568. 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell/Wiley.
- Miller, Jim. & Regina. Weinert 1998. *Spontaneous spoken language: Syntax and discourse*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Thompson, Sandra. 2002. “Object complements” and conversation towards a realistic account. *Studies in Language* 26(1): 125–164.
- Vallauri, Edoardo Lombardi. 2004. Grammaticalization of syntactic incompleteness: Free conditionals in Italian and other languages. *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 17: 189–215.
- Weinert, Regina. & Jim. Miller 1996. Cleft constructions in spoken language. *Journal of Pragmatics* 25(2): 173–206. doi:10.1016/0378-2166(94)00079-4

They are cleverer than she and I

- Bauer, Laurie. 1998. Myth 16: You shouldn't say 'It is me' because 'me' is accusative. In Laurie. Bauer & Peter. Trudgill (eds), *Language myths*, 132–138. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Davies, Mark. 2004. *British National Corpus* (from Oxford University Press). Available online at <https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/>.
- Denison, David. 1996. The case of the unmarked pronoun. In Derek. Britton (ed.), *English historical linguistics 1994: Papers from the 8th international conference on English historical linguistics*, 287–300. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hudson, Richard. 1995. Does English really have case? *Journal of Linguistics* 31(2): 375–392.
- Quinn, Heidi. 2005. *The distribution of pronoun case forms in English*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Wales, Katie. 1996. *Personal pronouns in present-day English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Is that your wife again?

- Allen, Cynthia. 2003. Deflexion and the development of the genitive in English. *English Language and Linguistics* 7(1): 1–28. doi:10.1017/S1360674303211023
- Davies, Mark. 2004. British National Corpus (from Oxford University Press). Available online at <https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/>.
- Ehret, Katharina. , Christoph. Wolk & Benedikt. Szmrecsanyi 2014. Quirky quadratures: On rhythm and weight as constraints on genitive variation in an unconventional data set. *English Language and Linguistics* 18(2): 262–303. doi:10.1017/S1360674314000033
- Fiest, Jim. 2012. What controls the 'genitive variation' in present-day English? *Studies in Language* 36(2): 261–299. doi:10.1075/sl.36.2.03fei
- Haiman, John. 1983. Iconic and economic motivation. *Language* 59: 781–819. doi:10.2307/413373
- Jankowski, Bridget L. & Sali A. Tagliamonte 2014. On the genitive's trail: Data and method from a sociolinguistic perspective. *English Language and Linguistics* 18(2): 305–329. doi:10.1017/S1360674314000045
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria. 2001. Adnominal possession. In Martin. Haspelmath , Ekkehard. König , Wulf. Oesterreicher & Wolfgang. Raible (eds), *Language typology and language universals*, 960–970. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 1983. A grammar of Manam. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 2009. Oceanic possessive classifiers. *Oceanic Linguistics* 48(2): 379–402. doi:10.1353/ol.0.0054
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek. , Jyotsna. Vaid & Hsin-Chin. Chen . 2011. On the interpretation of alienable vs. inalienable possession: A psycholinguistic investigation. *Cognitive Linguistics* 22(4): 659–689. doi:10.1515/cogl.2011.025
- Payne, John. & Eva. Berlage 2014. Genitive variation: The niche role of the oblique genitive. *English Language and Linguistics* 18(2): 331–360. doi:10.1017/S1360674314000057
- Quirk, Randolph. , Sidney. Greenbaum , Geoffrey. Leech & Jan. Svartvik 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.
- Rosch, Eleanor. , Carolyn. Mervis , Wayne. Gray , David. Johnson & Penny. Boyes-Braem 1976. Basic objects in natural categories. *Cognitive Psychology* 8(3): 382–439. doi:10.1016/0010-0285(76)90013-X.
- Rosenbach, Anette. 2014. English genitive variation – the state of the art. *English Language and Linguistics* 18(2): 215–262. doi:10.1017/S1360674314000021
- Stahl, Leon. 1927. Der adnominal Genitiv und sein Ersatz im Mittelenglischen und Frühneuenglischen. *Giessener Beiträge* 3: 1–35.
- Szmrecsanyi, Benedikt. 2013. The great regression: Genitive variability in late Modern English. In Kersti. Börjars , David. Denison & Alan. Scott (eds), *Morphosyntactic categories and the expression of possession*, 59–88. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Thomas, Russell. 1931. Syntactical processes involved in the development of the adnominal periphrastic genitive in the English language. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan.
- Timmer, Benno Johan. 1939. The place of the attributive noun-genitive in Anglo-Saxon. *English Studies* 21: 49–72.
- Vaid, Jyotsna. , Hsin-Chin. Chen & Franktisek. Lichtenberk 2019. A Processing advantage for inalienable possession: Evidence from English phrase plausibility judgments. *Te Reo: Journal of the New Zealand Linguistic Society* 62(1): 155–173.

Conclusion

Asimov, Isaac. 1980. *Casebook of the black widowers*. London: Gollancz.